1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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daily tasks, whether on their own *milpas*[1] on the margins of the town or in *haciendas*, mills, or mines still farther away, tne male inhabitants scatter outside the village, returning at the end of the day, the week, or the season. But while the villagers live by agriculture, the village lives by trade. It is essentially a market, and the central *plaza*, where occur the periodic markets attended by people from other villages and where are situated all the public buildings and the private dwellings of size and importance, dominates and affords a focus for the town. The village, like Mexico itself, has a center and a periphery.

The state of Morelos lies upon the southern escarpment. It is the only state which lies entirely upon the slope; it forms one steep stairway up to the tableland. It is a small state, about the size of Delaware, but in its brief extent there is a descent of eight thousand feet. Its northern margin, the Sierra of Ajusco, which forms the southern rim of the great central basin, is a region of pine forests, chill winds, and charcoal-burners, while in the southern part of the state are tropical lowlands which produce coconuts and malaria.

Although only a small part of the state contains arable land,[2] nevertheless among the steep confusion of the mountains there are many sloping valleys which contain good soil and either receive sufficient rain or are watered by streams which arise in higher and wetter regions.

[1] Small agricultural tracts cultivated by individuals for their own benefit.

[2] About 10 per cent, according to Francisco Bulnes, *The Whole Truth about Mexico*, p. 88.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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ter regions. Therefore there are many villages, walled away one from another by the complicated mountains and lying one above the other on the steps of the stairway. Morelos is, indeed, one of the most densely populated states of Mexico.[1] But the population is one of small villages; there is no town with more than ten thousand inhabitants, and three-quarters of the people live in villages of less than two thousand.[2]

The state is entirely agricultural; there is practically no industry. Before the Conquest it was the seat of many Indian villages; these were united in loose economic and political federations, but each had its own patriotism and its own communal lands. The *hacienda* system, which had for its excuse in the north the geographic facts of an unpopulated region with few resources of water supply, lacked similar excuses in Morelos until the introduction of sugar cane. Sugar cane demands the construction of irrigation works and crushing machinery and so requires large-scale production. Because of this (and because of the early assignment of large groups of villages to individual conquerors as *encomiendas*), by 1910 the *hacienda* system had developed further in Morelos than anywhere else; indeed practically all the land belonged to the large estates of a few individuals.[3] Sugar made Morelos a

[1] In 1910, 84.7 inhabitants per square mile, and seventh in density of population among Mexican states, according to the computation from census figures of Wallace Thompson, *The People of Mexico*, p. 72.

[2] McBride, *Land Systems of Mexico*, p. 144.

[3] McBride says that only 140 of 28,000 heads of families were individual property-holders. One large *hacendado* owned seven times as much land as there was in all the small farms (under 1,000 *hectares*), in the state (*op. cit.*, pp. 143–44).

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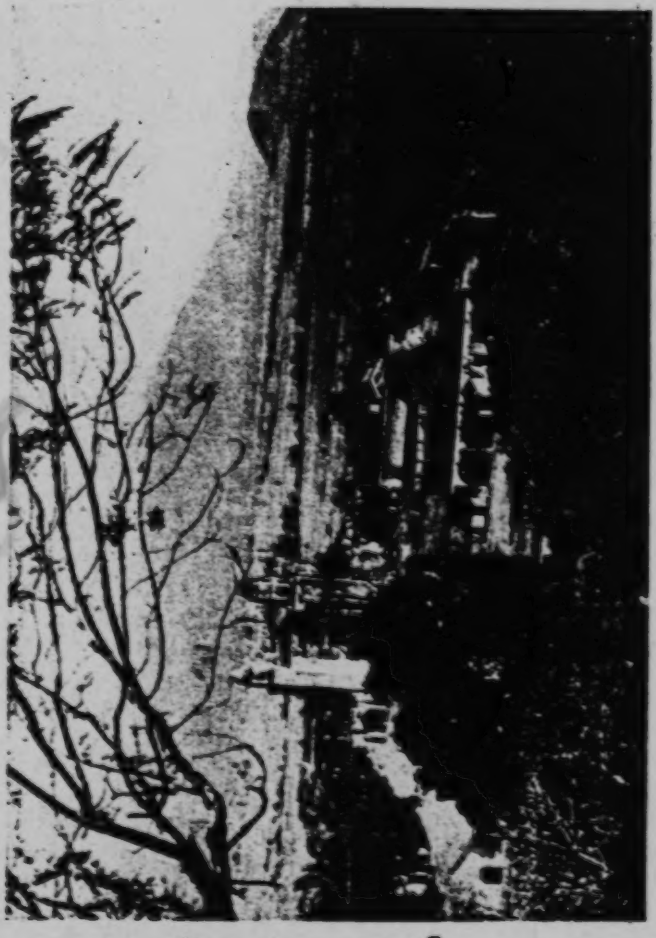

TEPOZTLAN: THE *PLAZA*

[facing page 21]

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Sugar made Morelos a 175
contributor to the wealth of Mexico, but it reduced 249
the population to landless peonage. The revolution 423
which began in 1910, especially in Morelos, may be 669
regarded as the conflict between two social-economic systems: the one an ancient Indian tradition of self-sufficient and independent villages enjoying corporate land tenure, and the other a new capitalistic system of large-scale production of a money crop contributory to a world-economy. The agrarian reforms following the revolution broke up some of these estates. Others were kept together and operated by the state in an attempt to preserve the sugar plantations; but many lands where sugar was once grown have reverted to maize.

The northern border of Morelos lies along a part of 133
the rampart which hems in the valley of Mexico. Going south from Mexico City, one climbs this valley wall, the Sierra of Ajusco, at an elevation of nine thousand feet above the sea. Standing upon the southern edge of the escarpment one stands also on the threshold of Morelos. There the rampart drops suddenly away into warm green valleys that go on and down one beyond the other in a maze of slighter mountains that from this eminence are no more than hills.

In each shelf or pocket of the mountains lies a vil- 131
lage, or a cluster of villages. Close underneath the 133
row of peaks[1] which forms the last bulwark of the 361
escarpment is situated Tepoztlán. This village is the

[1] This *sierra*, the southwestern margin of the *cordillera* of Ajusco, extends southeastward to the *pueblo* of Tlayacapan, Morelos. It is composed of basaltic tufa and fine volcanic ash.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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center of a cluster of villages which is not four miles in radius but which includes a descent of about twenty-five hundred feet, from San Juanico at an altitude of seven thousand feet to Santiago at about forty-five hundred.[1] These villages rest upon the topmost steps of the stairway, and these steps are the steepest.

Tepoztlán lies at the focus of a parabola of mountains the northern arm of which is the last escarpment wall. The southern arm is a range of somewhat lower mountains. The parabola opens southeastward; from Tepoztlán at its head the land slopes swiftly down to the valley of Yautepec. Thus Tepoztlán is not visible from the escarpment edge, but is hidden behind this screen of mountains, although from certain points almost half the extent of the state can be seen.

Whether the village is approached from above or from below it remains hidden in large part until it is actually entered. A density of trees, most of which bear either edible fruits or showy flowers, conceals the houses, which are all flat roofed and one story in height. Only the churches are taller; here and there they pierce the foliage. The great central church (*templo mayor*) on the *plaza* is by far the largest building in Tepoztlán; its great walls, crenelated to serve as battlements, and its two tall bell-towers dominate a village that, in the rainy season, escapes into and is lost in foliage.

[1] The *plaza* at Tepoztlán is at an altitude of about 1,700 meters (5,500 ft.) above sea-level.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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Entering either from above or below one passes first through a belt of tilled ground: corn- and beanfields, each small plot separated from its neighbor by a wall made of heaped fragments of the abundant volcanic rubble. These are the *milpas;* by means of these little properties the villagers are fed, and to them their loyalties are bound.

The houses begin abruptly; they are set close beside the road; most are heavily shaded by trees. The streets are set with stones, rough hewn or placed just as they were found. Only near the *plaza* do the streets become wider, straighter, and smoother; those on the margins of the town are narrow and rough and often crooked. Most have steep grades; when this is so there is not a gradual gradient, but a series of alternating slants and levels. So the streets were laid out before the white men came. The method suggests the alternating stairways and platforms of the Indian *teocalli;* certainly it is adapted to a traffic made up solely of laden men and women; when the roads were first made there were no pack animals in Mexico. Today too the streets are very still; in them no wheel ever moves.

Tepoztlán was a *pueblo* of the Tlahuica, one of the Nahuatl-speaking tribes[1] that made up the last immigration south to the plateau region before the coming of the Spaniards. The ideograph of the town, an ax set in the sign for "mountain" or accompanied by

[1] Others were the Xochimilca, Chalca, Tepaneca, Acolhua, Tlaxcalteca, and Azteca.

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CHAPTER III

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY

●361 In highly dissected regions the natural community tends to be the valley and the boundaries of the community are then the valley walls. Where the valley floor is wide and fertile a considerable village grows up. But also, in less desirable sites in the valley, in smaller pockets in the surrounding mountains, or on the steeper or less-watered slope on the other side of the mountains, settlements develop which, because of their relatively unfavorable locations, remain small. Upon the market and upon the social organization of the larger valley settlement the lesser hamlets become and remain dependent.

[631] Such a constellation of minor settlements, tributary to a larger village, is exemplified by Tepoztlán and the seven hamlets of San Juanico, Santo Domingo, Amatlán, Ixcatepec, Santiago, San Andres, and Santa Catarina. Tepoztlán contains about four thousand inhabitants; the hamlets each hold two or three hundred. Tepoztlán lies in the wide valley that is protected by high mountain walls on three sides. It is well watered by many springs which burst forth from the mountains at the north side of the valley; this water is piped to the town (as once it was conducted through primitive stone conduits) from reservoirs built at

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these sources. Ixcatepec and Santiago are situated farther down the valley, outside the protecting walls, along the San Jerónimo, a tiny stream which arises in Tepoztlán and flows into the Rio Yautepec. The other five hamlets are almost or quite without immediate water; indeed, at Santa Catarina all water is carried to the town from a distance of about half a mile.

The small villages are naturally tributary to Tepoztlán because Tepoztlán is the large village to which they are nearest, but more particularly because most of them lie along the principal roads leading out of Tepoztlán. At the upper end of the valley, where the mountain wall is low, two roads go out: one north to Mexico City, the other southwest to Cuernavaca. San Juanico is situated on the former road; just off the latter road lies San Andres, and directly on it, Santa Catarina. The third road runs southeast down the widening valley to Yautepec. On this are situated Ixcatepec and Santiago. Santo Domingo and Amatlán lie on no main artery of travel, and for this reason they are much less definitely a part of the constellation of communities than are the other five. Much less often do the inhabitants of these two hamlets contribute to the market at Tepoztlán, or attend the *fiestas* there.

There is a great deal of travel among the villages of Morelos, and nearly all of it is travel on foot. A man or a woman of Tepoztlán will not infrequently make weekly trips, on foot, to Yautepec or to Cuernavaca, and will make the thirty-five or forty miles there and back in one day, often bearing a heavy load both

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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177 *tos* cause them to live near the *plaza* and so keep out
369 *los tontos*, and also because people continue to occupy the house sites of their ancestors. By spotting the
177 traits on a map of the community the distribution of
369 city traits as compared with folk traits could be in-
463 dicated. An example of such a distribution is given on the accompanying map. Here are contrasted the
361 distributions of two sorts of professionals. Each letter indicates the home (except in a few cases this is also the place of business) of an individual with a recognized specialty. On the one hand are those specialists —tradespeople and artisans—who practice European techniques and who mostly acquired their specialties through economic competition. These are in general found near the *plaza*. On the other hand are the midwives, herb doctors, and fireworks-makers, who practice more ancient, traditional techniques and who in more cases came into their rôles by birth. These tend to be found toward the periphery.

[621] The upper three *barrios*, San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastian (and, to a somewhat less extent, Santa Cruz), are the most remote from the *plaza* and are *barrios* of *tontos*. These three contain the greatest proportionate number of magical specialists and not a single rational specialist of the sorts listed. The peo-
177 ple in these *barrios* have a different "mentality" from
369 those that dwell around the *plaza*. Racially they are
621 no different, but the experiences they undergo are
[805] different. They are "timeless" for one thing; few up there have watches, and they are too far away to hear

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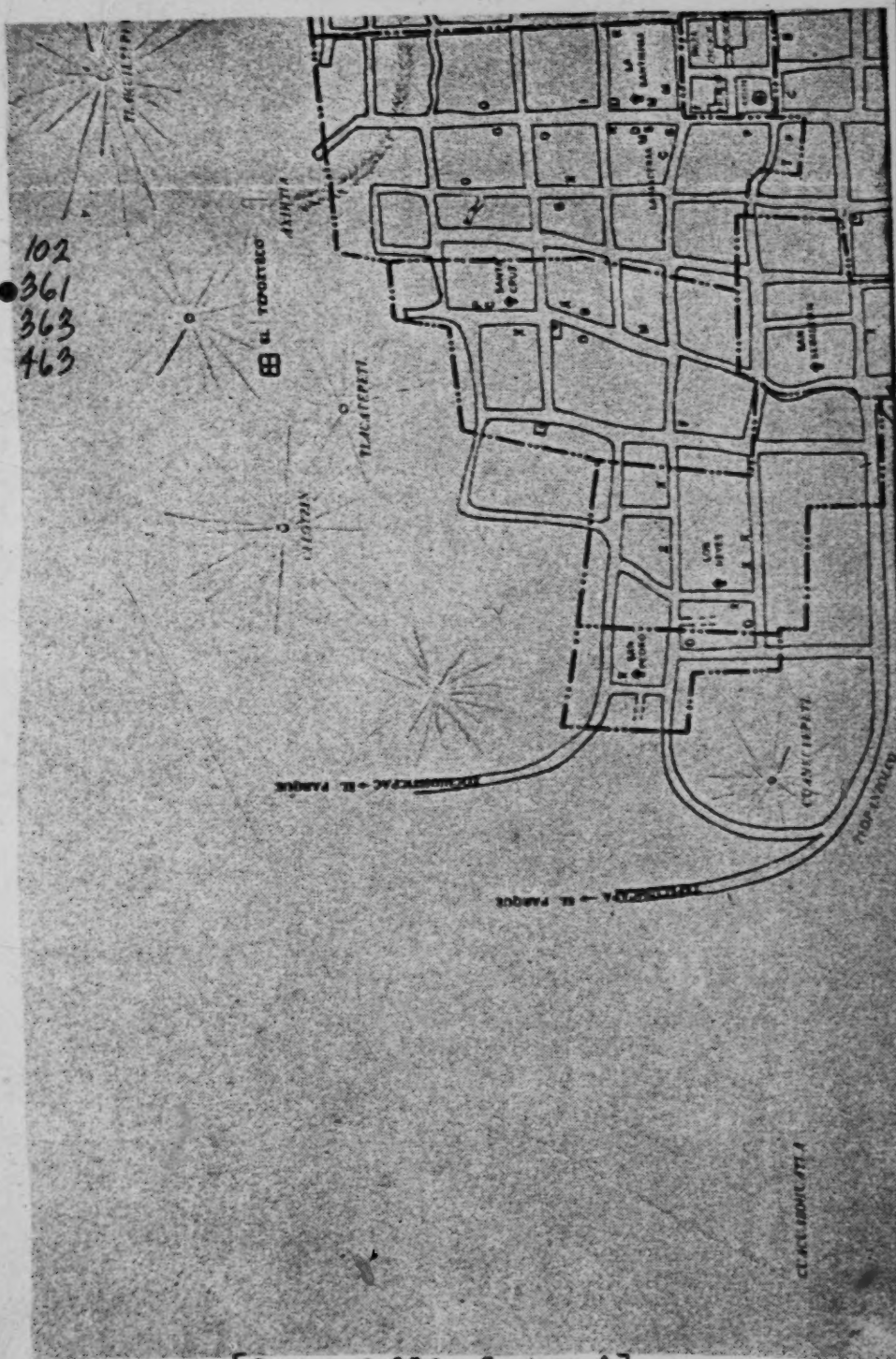

[facing p. 220, Section A]

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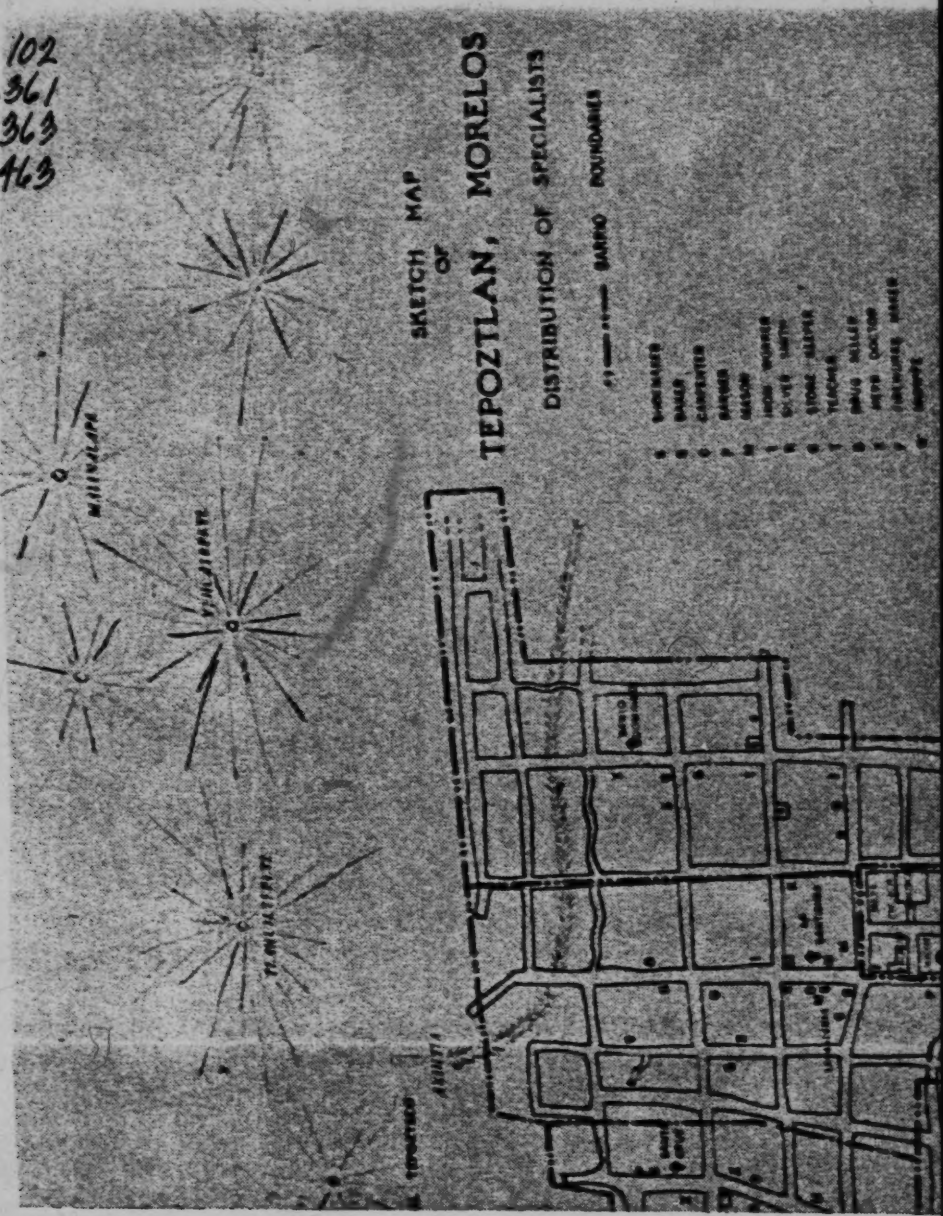

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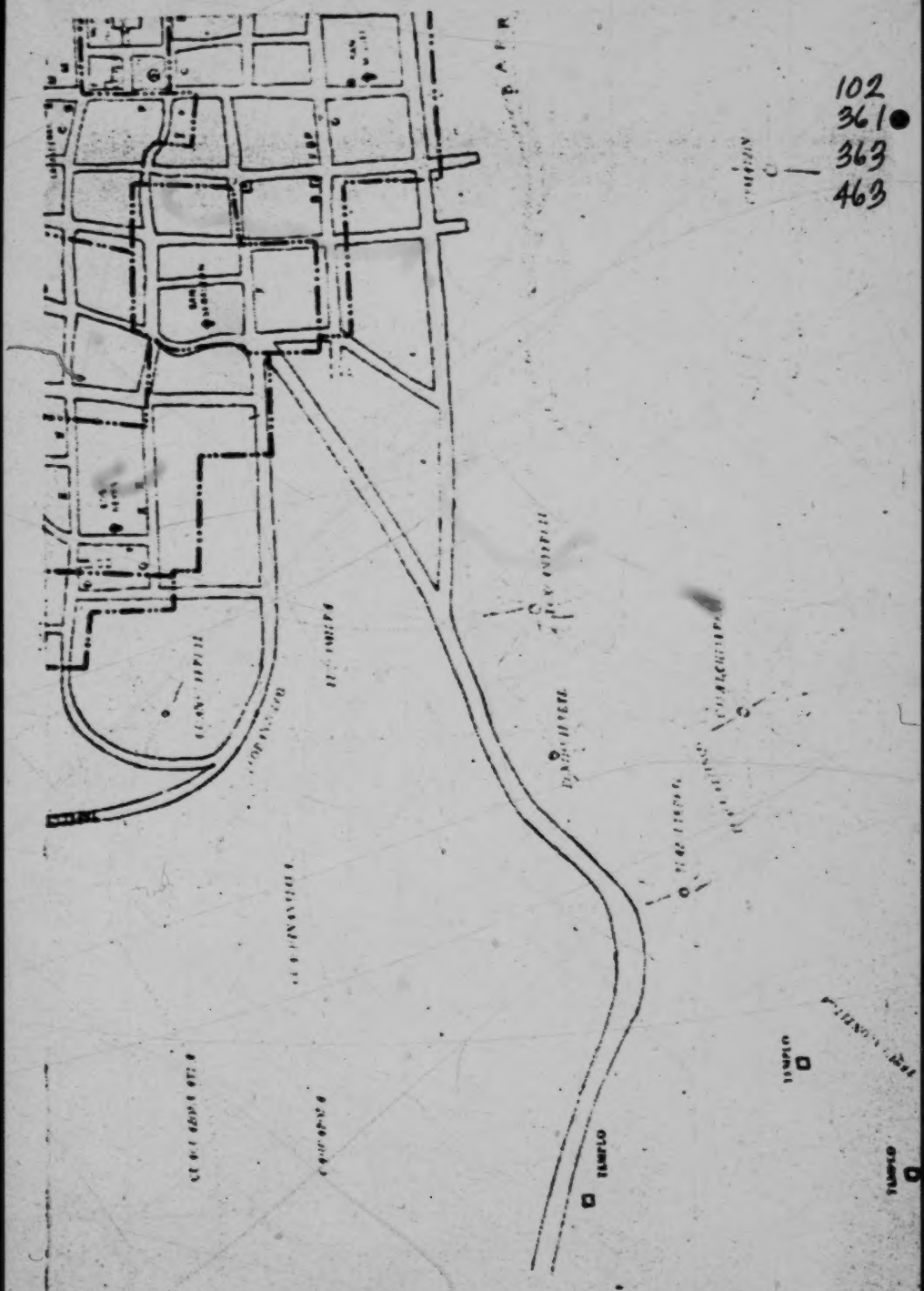

[facing P. 220, Section C]

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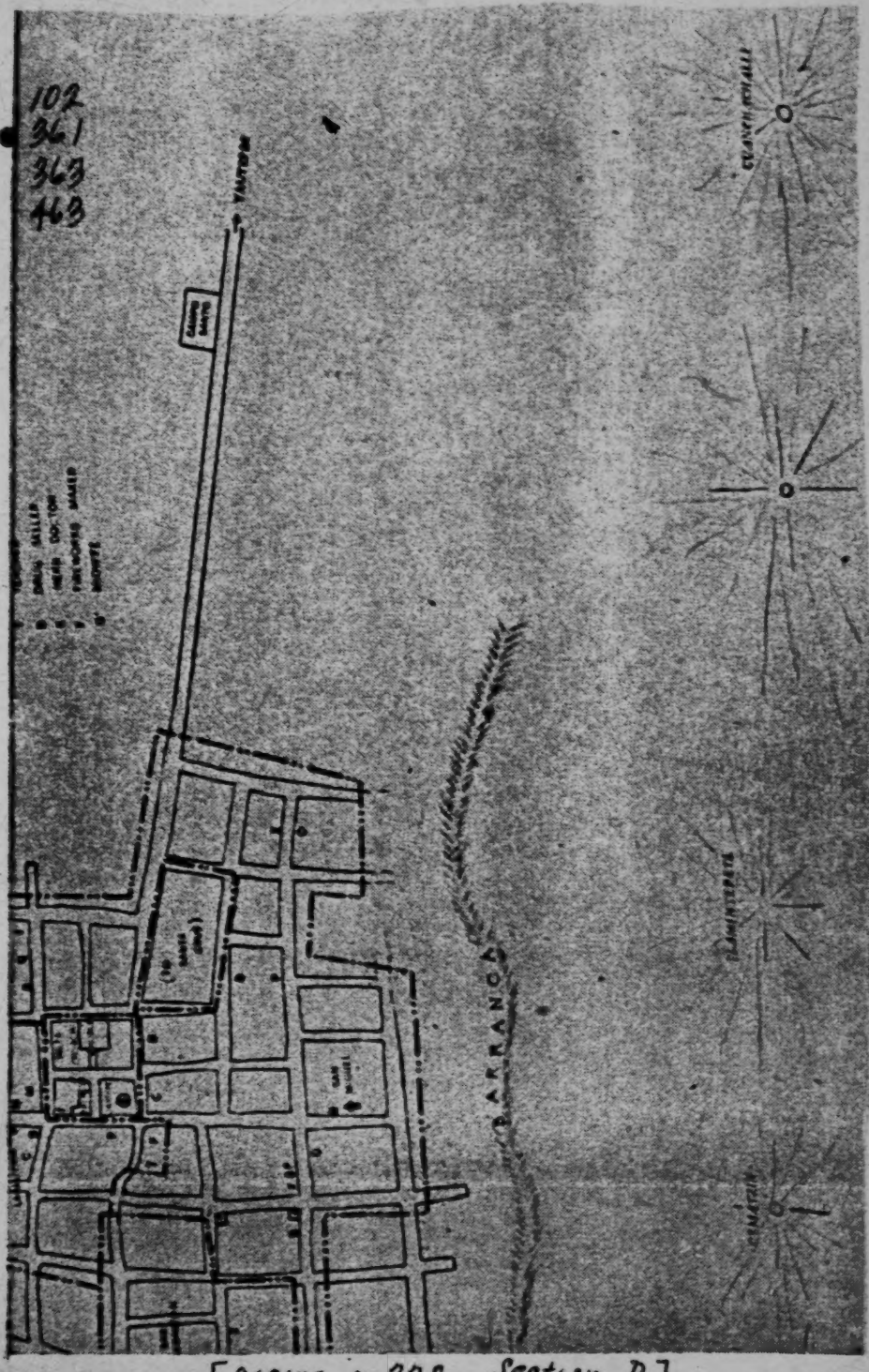

[facing p. 220, Section D]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

quarrels and many political struggles within the municipio and the village. Most of the monte is in *tierra fría*. Here the rainy season begins a few weeks earlier than in the lower regions, and the atmosphere is more humid because of the low hanging clouds. Here the soil is porous and unsuitable for adobe.

Most of the houses are therefore made of cane, straw, or wattle, and the majority of the roofs are made of wooden boards instead of tile as in Tepoztlán. Wooden boards are also put on the floor by those who can afford them for protection against the damp and cold. In the village of San Juan, which is in this region, corn is planted earlier, ripens later, and is less subject to the ravages of insects than in Tepoztlán

Fig. 3. Altitude of Tepoztlán and surrounding villages.

and the lower, warmer villages. Here there are no coffee trees, no hog plum, no banana, nor other tropical and semi-tropical fruits. But unlike the other villages, a little wheat, barley, lima beans, and some potatoes may be grown in San Juan. Also, *capulin*, *tejocote*, peaches, pears, and other fruits grow much better than in Tepoztlán and the lower villages. Furthermore, San Juan has no malaria.

The southern half of the municipio is divided into two parts by a ridgelike chain of hills or *cerros* which extends from the southern wall of the valley of Tepoztlán and continues south to divide the entire state of Morelos into its two major topographic regions, the valley of Cuernavaca and the valley of Amilpas. Within the municipio of Tepoztlán the large area of land to the west of this divide slopes gently to the southwest where it merges with the valley of Cuernavaca. This region contains the greater portion of the arable land of the municipio; and two villages, Gabriel Mariaca and San Andrés, are located here. Here, too, is the land known as

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

texcal, an area covered with volcanic rock and a thorny scrub forest with a predominating flora of copal gum, mimosalike legumes, a tree "sweet potato," and silk cotton trees.[8] *Texcal* covers a strip of land approximately two kilometers wide on the eastern limits of the municipio and constitutes about ten per cent of the total land area of the municipio. To the east of the divide is an area of rounded hills covered with scrub forest. These lands are known as *terrenos cerriles*. The predominating flora is *vera blanca*, *agualisca*, and scrub oak. Both the hill land and the land of the divide itself are used for grazing and for the planting of corn by the primitive cutting and burning method; and the trees from the cleared land are used for firewood. The villages of Santiago and Ixcatepec are located in the lower levels of this area, and the villages of Amatlán and Santo Domingo are found in pockets in the mountain chain which forms the eastern boundary of the municipio.

In viewing the land resources and types of land use in the municipio as a whole, we find there are five distinct types according to Tepoztecan categories: monte, *texcal*, *cerros*, *terrenos cerriles*, and *terrenos de temporal*. Each of these land types, with the exception of the *cerros*, plays an important role in the Tepoztecan economy. Their distribution is shown in Fig. 4. The approximate area of each of these land types and their uses are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Tepoztecan Land Types and Land Uses.

Land Types	Land Uses	Percentage of Total Land Area of Municipio
Monte	Lumber, firewood, charcoal	43
Texcal	*Tlacolol* (hoe culture), firewood	10
Terrenos cerriles	Grazing, *tlacolol*, firewood	18
Cerros	Some grazing and *tlacolol* but mostly of no use	12
Terrenos de temporal	Plow agriculture	15
Total		100

The foregoing data are based on a survey made by the writer with the aid of Tepoztecan informants. A survey of the land resources of the municipio made by the Departamento Agrario in 1937 agrees quite closely with our own study (see Table 2), except that the categories used in classifying the lands are not those used by Tepoztecans.

It can be seen from Table 1 that the forest lands and grazing lands together account for the largest portion of the lands of the municipio, approximately sixty-three per cent. The agricultural poverty of the municipio as well as of the village of Tepoztlán can be seen from the fact that only about fifteen per cent of the total land area is available for plow agriculture. Furthermore, most of the cultivable land is highly eroded and of poor productive quality. Tepoztecans distinguish three

[8] The flora of the *texcal* consists primarily of *huaje blanco—Leucaena* (Leguminosae); *copal—Elaphrium* (Burseraceae); *Cuashuate—Ipomoea* (Convolvulaceae); and *palo mulato—Elaphrium* (Burseraceae).

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

134 types of categories of cultivable land according to productivity. The distribution
311 of these land classes is shown in Fig. 5.

First-class land produces an average of about two *cargas* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted. This is by far the best land, and it is located in the valley bottoms where seasonal streams bring down the rich fertilizing materials from the monte and forests. The soil on this land is dark brown to black. Less than five per cent of the land of plow agriculture is of this type. Second-class land produces on the average of one *carga* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted. This land slopes more and is more eroded; it accounts for about forty-five per cent of the cultivable land.[6] The soils are sandier and vary from light brown to reddish. Third-class lands produce on the average of about one-half a *carga* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted, and account for another forty-five
[170] per cent of the cultivable land. These lands have the steepest slope and are the most eroded. It is on these lands that rock terraces, said to be of pre-Conquest times, are used to prevent the complete washing away of the soils. The soil on this land is yellowish and very stony. Frequently the rock-bottom *tepetate* is only a few inches from the surface. (See Fig. 6.)

TABLE 2. Land types and areas according to agrarian Census of 1937.

Land Types	Areas (in Hectares)	Percentage of Total Land Area of Municipio
Monte Alto	11,400	44.0
Monte Bajo	5,750	22.0
En cerril accidental inútil para la agricultura	3,010	11.0
Terrenos de temporal de primero	675	3.8
Terrenos de temporal de segundo y tercero	5,075	19.1
Total	25,910	

361 From the foregoing materials we can see that the municipio of Tepoztlán is not
631 a single natural or geographic unit.[8] Hills and mountains break it up and form barriers between the villages. Thus Tepoztlán is separated from the village of San Juan to the north by one group of hills and from San Andrés to the southwest by another. Santo Domingo, to the southeast of Tepoztlán, is nestled high up in a pocket in the mountain wall and is more or less isolated from all the other villages of the municipio. Only three of the villages, Ixcatepec, Santiago, and Tepoztlán
312 proper, are located within a single valley and drained by the same stream. The re-

[6] Although there is some evidence in early sixteenth-century documents examined by the writer which points to a greater productivity of the land at that time, it is interesting to note that the description of the lands of the municipio in the first land title of 1548 describes the lands as rocky, sterile, and ill suited for agriculture. Furthermore, the greater portion of the lands was described as "sitios de ganado menor" and "sitios de ganado mayor" which may indicate that the Spaniards viewed the land resources of Tepoztlán as best suited for grazing.

[8] Redfield's references to the municipio as "a natural community" and as a "valley community" tend to give the municipio a geographic unity which it does not in fact have. Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 59.
[114]

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Fig. 5. Land classes, municipio of Tepoztlán.

312 maining villages must depend upon springs which in some cases are a mile distant.
631 The fact that the municipio has existed for hundreds of years as a political and social entity in the face of this lack of geographic unity raises interesting questions which will be discussed later.

THE VILLAGE

133 Centrally located within the municipio, and nestled in a broad alluvial valley
361 surrounded by hills and massive rock outcroppings of fantastic and beautiful for-

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

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Fig. 6. Rock terrace in Tepoztlán.

133 mations, lies the village of Tepoztlán.[6] (See Fig. 7.) These hills and rock out-
[361] croppings constitute two fairly well defined units. One begins just north of the village and curves toward the southeast, reaching to the neighboring municipio of Tlayacapan, a distance of about fifteen miles. The other begins just south of the village and extends to the east for a short distance to form the southern wall of the valley of Tepoztlán. The valley runs northwest-southeast and then turns directly south. The upper or northwestern end of the valley is considerably narrower than the lower end. The valley is drained by a small perennial stream locally known as the Río Atenco, which flows through the village and then turns east and south where it flows into the Yautepec River which in turn joins the Balsas River.

[823] The spectacular peaks and buttes of the rock outcroppings which rise to 1,200 feet
103 above the village are locally known as *cerros* and are important landmarks to the people of Tepoztlán. Each *cerro* is known by its Náhuatl name and has an ancient legend associated with it. Among the more important *cerros* are *El Tlahuitepetl*

101 [6] In the early sixteenth-century documents Tepoztlán is called "Tepoztlan." Writers on the history of the village have suggested that the term is derived from the Náhuatl *tepostli* (iron) and *tlan* (abundance); that is, Tepoztlán means "place of abundant iron." But there are no iron deposits in Tepoztlán, nor is there evidence of any in the past. More recently, Muller has suggested another interpretation which would seem to be more in accord with all the facts. She suggests that Tepoztlán is the Hispanicized version of the older Nahua term *Tepoztectla*, which means "place of the broken rocks." This is derived from *tetl* (rock) and *postecli* (broken), and is an accurate description of the village site. Muller claims that some of the early chroniclers used this term for Tepoztlán. There would still remain the problem of explaining the use of a copper ax as the glyph for Tepoztlán in the Codex Mendocino. It may be that this glyph was used because they had no other way of showing broken rock. Certainly copper axes may have been imported by the village.

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year can be grown in Tepoztlán. Lack of water for irrigation is one of the most frequent complaints. Tepoztecans speak of the irrigated farming area of nearby Yautepec, where a few crops a year are grown, as an agricultural paradise.

A rich semi-tropical flora grows in the village. On almost any house site a great variety of plants and trees are found. The more common ones are *papaya*, coffee, *ciruela* (hog plum), *guaje*, *aguacate*, *chayote*, *mango*, banana, *maguey*, and some prickly pear. Most families grow a variety of flowers and herbs which are used for cooking and as medicines.

Like the municipio, the village of Tepoztlán is located on a slope (Fig. 8) and the resulting diversity of topography and climate noted for the municipio is also

Fig. 8. Tepoztlán lies on a steep incline.

characteristic of the village itself, except that the contrasts are less sharp. The upper part of the village is steeper, rockier, and somewhat cooler; the lower part is warmer and, being closer to the surrounding hills and better watered, has a richer flora and more abundant growth of *ciruela* and coffee trees. The incline runs from the northwest to the southeast, for the northern or upper part of the village is several hundred feet higher than the southern part.

The streets running north and south slope steeply. During the rainy season these streets are often converted into cascading streams which rush, knee-deep, downward toward the center. To avoid erosion many streets are stone-paved and terraced. The Aztec system of terracing by means of an ascending series of platforms and inclines is still conserved. (See Fig. 9.) However, many streets, particularly those in the outlying barrios, are neither paved nor terraced and are turned into slippery mud-holes or badly eroded gorges by the rains. Other streets are rough, boulder-strewn pathways which must be climbed rather than walked; still others are covered with weeds and scattered stones and resemble dried-out stream beds more than streets. (See Fig. 10.) The streets running east and west also tend to be hilly and irregular because of the streams, arroyos, and gorges which cut across the village. Only the paved road and the plaza in the center are on a more or less level plane.

The village is large, spread out, and roughly rectangular in shape. (See Fig. 11.) It is approximately two kilometers in length and one and one-half in width. Al-

2:Lewis E-5,(1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

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Fig. 9. Terrace street, Aztec style.

361 though the village contains 662 house sites, it does not have the compact or crowded appearance of some Mexican towns. For the most part, the houses are separated 351 from each other by gardens, patios, corrals, and sometimes milpas. These are enclosed by low-lying stone walls which do not block the view from the street and which permit overhanging trees to shade the street. Only a few houses in the center [342] are built contiguously in Spanish style and are enclosed by high, concealing walls.

361 Tepoztlán has the traditional square plaza around which are grouped the more [367] important public buildings. On one side of the plaza is the small public park, com- [363] plete with bandstand, shade trees, benches, and brick walks. The paved road, which [494] runs along the other side of the park, ends at this point, and here, too, is the last stop on the bus line.

[344] North of the park is the courthouse which houses the office of the president, secre- tary, and other local officials. A guard in soldier's uniform is frequently seen pacing [346] up and down before the steps. The new school house was built next to the court- house and is now one of the important edifices of the center. Between these two [347] buildings and the plaza itself is the Portales, a semi-enclosed street where most of the stores and permanent vending places are located. The street has a roof sup- [366] ported by columns and provides merchants and buyers protection from the sun and rain.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Fig. 10. A street, resembling a dried-out stream bed.

rain. To the east is the large cathedral and convent, the most imposing and handsome buildings in the village. The convent is now a historical monument and is visited by tourists. Between the cathedral and the plaza is a row of whitewashed, flat-roofed stores. West of the plaza is a dirt road leading to the lower part of the village, to the cemetery, and to the village of Ixcatepec and more stores. The mills and some of the finer old houses of former *caciques* are also located on the plaza.

This part of the village presents the appearance and some of the hustle and bustle of a town, but the streets off the center are uniformly quiet and rustic and stamp Tepoztlán as a rural village. (See Fig. 12.) But even the center does not give the impression of an active, thriving community. The park, plaza, and public buildings show evidence of chronic neglect. Only for the annual Carnaval is the area well swept and the main fountain cleaned. The park is seldom occupied by the native population and, except when there are tourists, usually looks abandoned.

The stores are small and dark and have unattractive displays. On market days the few vendors and the small variety of goods available betray little commercial activity and a general air of decline. (See Fig. 13.)

The streets just off the plaza bear names indicated by placards. As is customary in Mexico the street names commemorate important historical events and outstanding local figures. Thus in Tepoztlán we find such street names as The Fifth of May, Aniceto Villamar, and No Reelección.[8] Only those houses in the center are

[8] Some of the street names are in Náhuatl and refer to pre-Hispanic figures, for example, Avenida del Tepozteco and Netzahualcoyotl.

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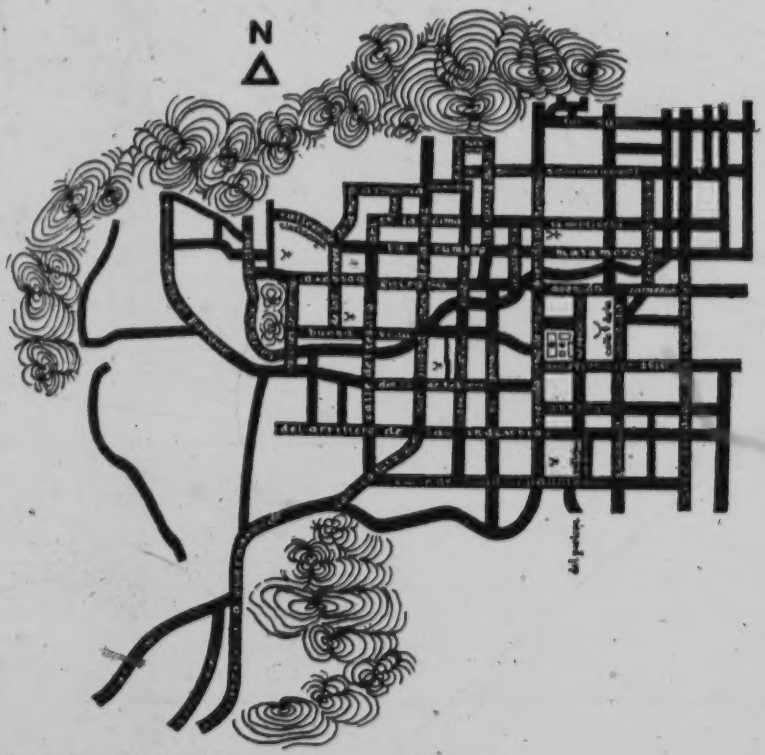

Fig. 11. Tepoztlán, showing streets, plaza, and barrio chapels.

363 numbered, but not in any systematic manner. Street names and house numbers
103 205 are not used by the local population nor do they appear on letters addressed to the villagers from the outside. Since mail remains in the post office until called for, this does not present a problem.

373 At night the village appears even less sophisticated than during the day because of the lack of public street lighting. When there is no moon it is difficult, even dangerous, to walk through the rough streets without a flashlight or candle. Normally only young men venture out at night. Most people retire early, and the streets 512 are dark and quiet. During the day the village also tends to be quiet, but many sounds can be heard: voices from within the houses, children crying or playing, housewives slapping tortillas into shape, people and animals walking over the stones, church bells, buses honking and racing loudly along the main thoroughfare, and an occasional lone peddler crying his wares. At night the only sounds

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

occasions when groups of angry residents, headed by a political leader, have broken into houses to cut off the private water supply that was draining the public one.

THE BARRIOS

The village is divided into seven barrios or named locality groupings, each with its own church, patron saint, and internal religious organization.[9] (See Fig. 15.) The barrios of today are essentially religious organizations, but also have important social functions. Redfield believed the barrios were pre-Hispanic survivals of the ancient *calpulli*, an interpretation to be questioned in the light of our data. He wrote:

The *barrio* is plainly recognizable as the pre-Columbian *calpolli*. From the accounts we have of the social organization of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and of Texcoco, it

Fig. 15. The barrios of Tepoztlán.

appears that each *pueblo* in the Nahua area was divided into units which bore this name. These units were originally, it has been supposed, based on kinship, but at the time of the Conquest, in Tenochtitlan at least, the kinship tie had largely disappeared, and the *calpolli* was a local unit. Each had its own god, religious structure, courts and judges, and military organization; and the members of each *calpolli* owned in common lands apart and distinct from the lands of the other *calpolli*.

With the destruction of the tribal organization following the Conquest, the military,

[9] In the following pages I have listed *eight* barrios rather than *seven*, because families on twenty-nine house sites in the barrio of Santo Domingo think of themselves as a separate unit owing allegiance to the barrio of Santa Cruz. I have therefore treated these twenty-nine house sites as a separate unit and have referred to them as Santa Cruz (small) in distinction to Santa Cruz (large), since Santa Cruz is the barrio to which they pay taxes.

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political, and judicial functions of the *calpolli* fell into desuetude. But the social and religious functions, conflicting with none of the Spanish forms, and coinciding in some measure with the current Spanish notion of a church parish, continued in Tepoztlán, as no doubt in other *pueblos*, to this day.[10]

The evidence cited by Redfield in support of this speculation is a portion of a recitation in Náhuatl which reads, "Here I am surrounded by my four mountains, seven hills, seven wells and seven stony hillsides." From this Redfield concludes, "This is clearly a reference, in topographic terms, to the *barrios*."[11] This interpretation is not acceptable, since the seven barrios are not each associated with a stony hillside. Nor does each barrio have its own well.

While there can be no doubt that the village is pre-Hispanic, I believe that the present-day layout with its barrio divisions is almost certainly post-Conquest. This conclusion is based primarily upon an analysis of sixteenth-century documents in which the seven barrios are not mentioned, and is partially confirmed by local tradition and some recent archaeological work. These sources suggest that before the Spanish Conquest the village was much more spread out, with numerous small population clusters settled along the valley near the *cerros* where there was an adequate water supply. In a document of 1580,[12] we find that the seat of the village was at a site called *Tetlán*, a site which is known today as being outside of the village limits, to the west. When the road to Cuernavaca was being built in 1935 and 1936, ceramic deposits and other evidence of habitation were unearthed at this spot. In the map (Fig. 16), I have located a number of sites which show some evidence of having been inhabited and which are believed to be pre-Hispanic settlement sites. Some of these sites are mentioned in a document of 1550 which gives the *sitios* and *estancias* which paid tribute to Tepoztlán. I have identified many of these house site names within the village today, but others are known only as the names of sites out in the fields and near the *cerros* as shown in Fig. 16. Still others could not be identified at all.

On the basis of this evidence, it is suggested that the Spaniards brought together the population clusters from the outlying settlements to control the people and to facilitate taxation.[13] That this was a general Spanish policy is clear from other sources.[14] A few informants felt certain that this is what had happened in

[10] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 76–77.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[12] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Relación de la Villa de Tepuztlan* in *Papeles de Nueva España*, Segunda Serie, Geografía y Estadística, Tomo VI (Madrid, 1905), p. 244—this valuable document will be referred to as *Relación* in the pages that follow. It is one of our best sources for the culture of Tepoztlán prior to the Spanish Conquest. It was prepared in 1580 by village officials with the aid of Tepoztecan informants, in response to a questionnaire sent out to all villagers of New Spain by Philip II.

[13] In a document—*Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, Exp. 100—dated March 2, 1551, we find a complaint, made by an investigator sent to Tepoztlán by the *corregidor*, to the effect that there were still some outlying "barrios" not listed in the Tepoztlán census. It was explained that this was done by the natives to cheat the government of taxes.

[14] See Dan Stanislowski, "Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World," *Geographical Review*, 37 (1947), 94-105.

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[172]

a. Tepoztlan
b. Cementerio
c. Ixcatepec
d. Tlawilopeil
e. Ocoletzin
f. Chachilopeil

1. PYRAMID OF TEPOSTEKO
2. TLAKWAPA
3. AXITLA
4. MAKPALOSTOK
5. TENECHKALKO
6. TLATLAKAPA
7. TEXOHKO
8. TEOPANSOLKO
9. KOSKATSINKO
10. TEKWESKONTITLA
11. MEETSTITLA
12. TEXKATSO
13. TLAXOMOLKO
14. TEMASATITLA
15. ACHICHIPIKO
16. MESOHKILA

Fig. 16. Possible sites of pre-Hispanic settlements.

Tepoztlán and suggested some of the settlement sites from which the present-day barrios were formed.

The *Relación* describes the village in some detail and gives the names and legends associated with each of the villages of the municipio, but it says nothing of barrios within the village itself. In fact none of the sixteenth-century documents mention the present-day barrios. However, in a document of 1579 [15] there is mention of four barrios of Tepoztlán: Atenco, Teycapan, Olac, and Pochitlán. These are listed as separate from the "capital" or Tepoztlán proper, suggesting that they were settlements outside of the village which were later incorporated into the village.[16] Atenco is identified by informants as the present-day barrio of Santo Domingo. The other barrios could not be identified by our informants but they are mentioned repeatedly in the early documents, appearing for the first time in a document dated 1551.[17]

[15] *Indios*, Vol. 1, Exp. 251.

[16] This interpretation is also suggested by documents which make it clear that the term "barrio" was used to designate a settlement outside of the village which did not have independent status. For the latter they used "estancia." A plaque in the church of the outlying village of Ixcatepec tells that the village was a "barrio" of Tepoztlán until 1732 when the church was built and an independent community established.

[17] *Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, Exp. 100. The fact that *four* barrios are mentioned is particularly significant, for it agrees with the account of Durán and other chroniclers who describe the early Nahua tribes as being divided into four units. The four barrios, rather than the present-day barrios, may well have been the ancient *calpulli*.

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The first mention of some of the present-day barrios is found in a document of 1807, which is a census of the villages by barrios and by house sites within each barrio.[18] The fact that the barrios of San Sebastián and San Pedro are not mentioned suggests that these two are the most recent additions. This is also in accord with a vague local tradition. Unfortunately the barrio chapels do not carry any dates. The census of 1807 is especially useful in that it gives the names of the house sites in Náhuatl and thereby makes possible a comparison of the house sites with those found today, since they are still known by the same names. The remarkable discovery that results from such a comparison is that the barrio boundaries have not changed much in the past 150 years. The major difference is that the present-day house sites are much smaller, probably reflecting the process of division by inheritance. From all of the foregoing it seems probable that the present-day barrios, with their churches, were built up gradually during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that two of the barrio chapels were built in the nineteenth century.

During the colonial period the barrio must have been an extremely important unit in the social organization of the village, since it served both as a politico-administrative unit as well as a religious unit. From the document of 1579, we learn that each barrio had its own *tequitlatos* (officials who spoke for the barrio) and *alguaciles*. It is possible that the *tequitlatos* were leaders of labor groups who were recruited in the *repartimiento* system on a barrio basis. Before the separation of church and state, the assignment of the village *cuatequitl* must have been done on a barrio basis. The barrio lost some of its functions after the time of Juárez when the village was divided up into eight *demarcaciones* (political wards), each with a delegate responsible to the local government. The *demarcaciones* cut across barrios. Since that time the *demarcación* rather than the barrio is used in organizing local census data, in assigning labor tasks for the village *cuatequitl*, in making public announcements, and in organizing elections. But despite the loss of some of its functions, the barrio continues to have great religious and social importance. The barrio is considered as an old and native institution, the *demarcación* as something imposed from the outside. Any school child knows his barrio, but very few adults or children know what *demarcación* they belong to.

The barrio names and the number of house sites by barrio are shown in the following:

TABLE 3. Number of Barrios and House Sites, 1944.

Barrio	House Sites
Santo Domingo	174
San Miguel	163
La Santísima	139
Santa Cruz (large)	67
Los Reyes	37
San Sebastián	34
Santa Cruz (small)	29
San Pedro	19
Total	662

[18] *Ibid.*, Leg. 356, Exp. 8.

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including those in Tepoztlán, continue to work their tiny subsistence holdings with traditional backward methods. And the contrast between the old and the new agriculture in Mexico is becoming sharper: less than 1 percent of the cultivated land is worked with the aid of the country's 55,000 tractors; about 20 percent of the land is still worked by the pre-Hispanic method of cutting and burning without benefit of plow and oxen. The production of Mexico's two basic food crops, corn and beans, has managed to keep up with the rapid population growth in the past twenty years but the margin of security has been slight. In drought years Mexico has been forced to spend its precious dollars to import huge quantities of corn to feed its people.

That the Mexican economy cannot give jobs to all of its people is indicated in the fact that from 1942 to 1955 about a million and a half Mexicans came to the United States as *braceros* or temporary agricultural laborers, and this figure does not include the "wet backs" and other illegal immigration. Mexico has also become increasingly dependent on the United States tourist trade for stabilizing its economy. In 1957, over 700,000 tourists from the United States spent almost 600 million dollars in Mexico, making tourism the single largest industry in the country. The income from the tourist trade is about equal to the total Mexican federal budget.

One aspect of the standard of living which has improved very little since 1940 is housing. With a rapidly rising population and with urbanization, crowding and slum conditions in the larger cities and towns are actually getting worse. Of the 5.2 million dwellings reported in the Mexican census of 1950, 60 percent had only one room and 25 percent two rooms; 70 percent of all houses were made of adobe, wood, poles and rods, or rubble, and only 18 percent of brick and masonry. Only 17 percent had private, piped water.

The Village

How has Tepoztlán changed in the light of these national trends? In 1956 the village did not look much different from the way it looked in 1943. The plaza and market still seemed rather desolate and unprosperous; no additional buildings had been built in the center. There were no new streets or paved roads except for two long cement treads which led up a steep street to the *Posada del Tepozteco,* the new tourist resort run by an American family. More automobile and bus traffic entered the village, and trucks came in with such new items as purified water and tanks of cooking gas for the homes of the foreign colony.

Village men still carried water to their homes from the nearest fountain; women still queued up to have their corn ground at the mills. The older people looked much the same, but the clothes of the younger people were more varied, colorful, and citified. More young women had short hair and permanent waves, and one young girl wore blue jeans. The young men wore modern trousers, shirts, and jackets, and more children had shoes, sweaters, and store-bought clothes. The small shops sold more canned goods and pack-